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The



People.

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EXEMPLIFIED.

Labor Class-Unconsciousness Goes Down Before Capitalist Class-Consciousness.

The Franklin Association of Feeders No. 23, Having Class-Consciousness Organized Against their Employers, Lose from that Moment the Scent of the Game they are Tracking—in a Conflict with their Employers, the Accepted Arbitrator an Excessiveness of the Class of their Exploiter, Set Low, and are Promptly Downed.

"Class-consciousness?—Pooh!" Thus goes the saying with many of the workmen. They think that the principle of "class-consciousness" is a fine-sounding Socialist theory, based upon false notions;—and, proceeding from and upon their own "practical" views, they get their heads bumped regularly. An excellent illustration of the power of class-consciousness on the part of the working class was furnished this week.

A dispute arose between the Franklin Association of Feeders, No. 23, and Typothet (Employers') Association. The feeders in the employ of the Press & Ridge Printing Company, this city, struck in January of last year because the employers refused to pay \$12 a week on runs of 50,000 or over. On runs of less than 50,000, the scale was \$12 a week. This lower scale was established away back in 1882, when the press machinery had not yet reached its present development, and runs 50,000 and over were not yet known. Since then, however, machinery in this department, keeping step with machinery elsewhere, has wrought prodigious changes, greatly increasing the productivity of labor. In sight of this increase, the feeders employed on the presses at the Press & Ridge Printing Company demanded higher wages;—the poultry increase of \$2 for runs of 50,000 and over. The company refused, and a strike ensued.

Here we have the essential manifestation of the class struggle between the Working Class and the Capitalist Class. The Capitalist, in the possession of the indispensable means of production, not only keeps to itself a large share of the wealth under any given conditions, produced by the Working Class, but it demands for, and keeps on absorbing into itself all the increase in the productivity of labor that improved mechanisms of production (art and science, to which these capitalists contribute nothing) make possible.

John Stuart Mill said somewhere that it was doubtful whether inventions and machinery reduced the toll of a single man; and Marx supplemented this imperfect statement by adding: "who has to work for his living," making the sentence read: It is doubtful that machinery and inventions reduced the toll of a single man who works for his living. The Press & Ridge Company proceeded upon the theory that underlies the statement. Improved presses, producing with a given number of hands more than older presses, shall not redound to the benefit of the workers by reducing their hours of work; such presses shall redound to the benefit of the capitalist who will thus have so much more plunder. The employees of the company did not demand a surcease of toll, they demanded only a share, a small share, in the increased productivity of their labor; and the conflict broke out.

So far, the workmen proceeded upon the correct class lines. But they did so only instinctively. How short a distance instinct alone can serve as a trustworthy guide on the cut-up and confusing field of sociology, and how necessary training and education are to pick one's way on that field, the striking employees reveal by their subsequent conduct. They agreed to arbitrate, and upon whom as an arbitrator?—upon one of the most pronounced excessiveness of the very class they were fighting—the ex-coffee-corporator, now College President, SETH LOW. The arbitrator was true to his class: his decision contains this passage:

"Since 1881 the size of press has been greatly increased and their rapidity of movement greatly quickened, but of these things the union's scale takes no account. If after sixteen years the discrimination against long runs is still in controversy, it must be either because it is inherently unreasonable or because the whole scale is too high."

All of which means that the increased wealth, produced by improved presses with quickened rapidity and of increased size, belongs in no way to the producer, but to the class that, owing to its theft-based ownership of the means of production is in condition to live in idleness and increasing luxury. Seth Low decided against the workers.

The Franklin Feeders' Association No. 23 are now snarling under a defeat that none but class-unconscious workmen can suffer. They have been led by a correct instinct in organizing against their employers; but beyond that point, they lost the scent of the game they started to track. Their organization does not recognize the irrepressible struggle there is between its own Class and the Capitalist Class;

CLEVELAND, O.

A Municipal Ticket and Uncompromising Declarations.

CLEVELAND, O., Jan. 13.—The city convention of the Socialist Labor party met to nominate candidates for the municipal elections and issue its confession of political faith. The convention was enthusiastic. Its

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

is as follows:

We, the members of the Socialist Labor party, in convention assembled, re-indorse the National and State platforms of the Socialist Labor party.

As citizens of this republic, we view with amusement the wild attempts of the antiquated and corrupt old parties—labeled Democrat and Republican for convenience—in attempting to throw dust in the eyes of the people and distract attention from the industrial problems with their clap-trap about expansion of territory or imperialism, which, to the mind of every thinking person, is a plain confession that the tariff and financial issues have been shelved and are no longer adequate to divide the working people at the polls; and we call attention to the fact, and historical development demonstrates its correctness, that the labor question will not be solved by the humbug issues of tariffs, silver or gold, nor expansion or non-expansion of territory, but only by the complete restoration to the working people of the tools of production and distribution, which are now produced and operated by labor for the enrichment and glory of a tyrannical and oppressive capitalist class.

We assert that the outlawing of the strike and boycott by the capitalistic courts is but the logical "expansion" of the "imperialistic" class, and its brutal injunction, police clubs and bristling bayonets are merely the convenient weapons used to beat down wages and drive the working class into an industrial feudalism, more galling than chattel slavery itself.

Against this despotic and uncivilized condition we register our most emphatic protest in a most pronounced manner—at the ballot box.

We assert, furthermore, that the enactment of alleged "labor laws," to remain dead letters upon the statute books or to be declared unconstitutional, or not in conformity with common law practices by the courts, are but temporary expedients, at best, if possible, quiet the agitation of the working people for their rights, and are meant to mislead and betray men. Experience proves that even "labor laws" are not worth the paper they are printed on.

We also warn thinking working people against the confusing hubbub of municipal reform, which the office-seeking politicians are conjuring up for the purpose of gaining the spoils of office. It is a fraud and meant to deceive with the tinsel of the phrases thoughtless but well meaning voters.

The Socialist Labor party firmly rejects every proposition for compromise, denounces the tariff, financial and imperialistic demagoguery, and reaffirms its declaration for the complete overthrow of the capitalistic competitive system, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth or Socialism.

To this end we invite able, conscientious, fair-minded and progressive people to join our party and prepare to move forward.

THE TICKET

set in the field is this:

For Mayor:

JOHN KIRCHER.

For Treasurer:

PETER C. CHRISTIANSEN.

For Judge of Police Court:

W. F. STEER.

For Prosecutor of Police Court:

JOE T. S. COWEN.

For Justice of the Peace:

M. R. O'FUREY.

For School Council:

MRS. BARBARA BAXDLOW.

ROBERT BARTELS.

MRS. LIZZIE E. CHRISTIANSEN.

FRANK BEYER.

An address recently delivered before the New York Bar Association by Edward G. Whitaker contains this passage:

In closing, I desire to say a few words upon what I consider the greatest existing evil in the administration of justice—the prevalence of the crime of perjury in legal proceedings—and to make one or two suggestions towards a partial remedy. The profession, I believe, generally concedes that perjury is at the present time the most prevalent and dangerous crime—and the most seldom punished. IT HAS COME TO SUCH A PASS THAT MEN, STANDING HIGH IN THE COMMUNITY, APPARENTLY THINK NOTHING OF SWEARING FALSELY TO PLEADINGS IN ORDER TO DELAY AND DEFEAT JUSTICE.

If this is not talking out of school, what is it? Here we have a "legal limb" of our elites, having, through his profession, unexcelled opportunities to ascertain the change that Socialism brings against the moral instincts of our "Pillars of Law and Order," giving his testimony and confirming the conclusions that Socialists arrive at through an other door.

Thou hast said well, Edward G. Whitaker.

Chas. Hartzheim will lecture on "Misery and Progress" at 315 Washington street, Brooklyn, this Sunday evening.

SOCIAL CONTRASTS

Which We Are Striving to Wipe Out.

Look at this Picture

Bulletin of Luxury!

Mrs. Astor, of Col. Astor fame, gave last night at her residence, on Upper Fifth avenue, the ball which she has been accustomed to give for many years during the winter season. The annual Astor ball has, in fact, become a fixed feature of recurring winter seasons in New York.

For last night's ball Mrs. Astor issued about 400 invitations, and there were about 300 guests present. She has given larger balls in the past and has herself alluded to last night's affair as "a small dance," while her cards of invitation bore the legend "small dance" upon them. The affair, however, in lavishment of appointment and decoration, and in the prominence of the guests who attended it, must be considered a ball in the general acceptance of that term.

The guests began to arrive at 11 p. m., many coming directly from the opera, which they left before the final curtain fell on "Lohengrin." The ball was not preceded, as was the Vanderbilt ball of last Friday, by a number of large dinners, so that the public at the opera saw many of the handsomest gowns worn at the ball in the boxes at the Metropolitan. Again, as at the Vanderbilt ball, numbers of the guests came in automobiles, and there was a large and weird procession of these electric-propelled cars up Fifth avenue from 11 p. m. until midnight.

That part of the Astor residence in which Mrs. Astor resides—the two houses, her own and her son's, Col. John Jacob Astor's, being really one—is called the north house, and there the guests of the evening were received. They entered a circular hall of Caen stone of a creamy tint, at the back of which was the famous stairway of marble, with its full-sized female figures by Ritter and its exquisite carvings. Unlike the Cornelius Vanderbilt house, the reception and drawing rooms are on the first floor, and there is no rez de chaussee. The ceiling of the hall reaches to the roof. The decorations of the drawing rooms were simply palms and American Beauty roses. Palms and clusters of Easter lilies, pink carnations and bridesmaid roses filled the halls. The guests, when they had laid aside their wraps in the dressing rooms upstairs, descended the marble staircase and entered the drawing rooms and salons.

Mrs. Astor received alone in the great drawing room. After the guests paid their respects to their hostess they went into the ball room, which is also the picture gallery. This is a noble apartment, and last night, lighted as it was by myriads of electric bulbs, its walls hung with fine canvases and adorned simply but richly with palms and roses, it presented a most beautiful picture. Carl Ritter was the modeler of the numerous figure pieces, including the quaint Caryatides which half support the ceiling. These figures stand upon the cornice, twenty feet from the floor, and no two are alike, although it is said that Sandow posed as a model for several.

The picture gallery is exquisitely paneled, the ceilings are very high, and the top is surmounted by a dome, illuminated by a clever device of electric lights. The room itself last night hardly needed the floral decorations. Its gilded panels and frescoes, its numerous figures, and the heads of famous artists over each panel, with the admirable light, make it an ideal art gallery and the very place for a ball.

The south house, that occupied by Col. and Mrs. John Jacob Astor, was also thrown open last evening, and there in the great dining room supper was served at round tables, on each of which was a centre piece of orchids. The other rooms were used for conversation and promenading. Music was furnished by Lander's orchestra and the Hungarian Band. The cotillion was quite a large one, and required two leaders, who were Elisha Dyer, Jr., and Harry Lehr. The favors were extremely dainty, and comprised silver baskets, and paper cutters, canes, pipes, pin cushions, portemonnaies, fans, gold and silver belt buckles, clusters of roses, boutonnières, and broad satin ribbons, with jeweled orders.

The menu of the supper, which was furnished by Sherry, was as follows:

- Bouillon en Tasse.
- Cotelettes de Volaille Perigoux.
- Filet de Boeuf aux Champignons Farcis.
- Pommes Purées.
- Terrapin.
- Canasback Duck.
- Hominy Croquettes.
- Pate de Foie Gras en Croute.
- Salade Orientale.
- Glace.
- Merveilleux.
- Fraises Fondantes.
- Mandarins Glaces.
- Petit Fours.
- Cerises Fondantes.
- Marrons.
- Cafe.
- Vins, Meets et Chaudon Imperial Brat.
- Apollinaire.

And then at This.

Bulletin of Misery!

The Supply Committee of the American National Red Cross Relief Committee require the co-operating interest of those who can give employment to men whom the committee seeks to succor until they can become bread-winners, and none of its protégés would consider any employment too humble. The aims of the Supply Committee are set forth in this extract from one of its circulars:

It is perhaps unknown to the large number of persons employing labor of all kinds, that there are hundreds of honorably discharged soldiers, with the very best references and records, who are entirely dependent upon the charities of the community or of the Red Cross Relief Committee, and that they have been from day to day doing everything in their power to secure work, and find that all of the positions have been filled that they left when they went to the front. It seems a great wrong that these men should be thus thrown upon the charities referred to, and we feel certain that if their condition were more generally known, with the fact that by applying to the Red Cross Supply Committee, at 100 William street, positions in every line of trade can be filled by these honorably discharged soldiers, there would not be such suffering as is now witnessed.

At the office of the committee yesterday were dozens of deserving applicants for employment. All had been saved from actual famine and the grasp of winter. There were few who did not wear at least a part of a United States uniform. Many shivered in khaki suits. A few were so feeble that they could hardly stand.

Among those who successfully applied for aid was a bright Kentucky lawyer, who abandoned his practice to go to the front, and who found himself without funds in this city. He had cheerfully tackled a broom during the snow blockade, and smilingly accepted a letter which secured him a job at Lee cutting up the Hudson.

An endeavor is making to secure a reduction in rates for some of the protégés of the committee at the Mills Hotel in Bleeker street. Members of the committee say that the plight of not a few is the fault of employers, who, when the men went to the war made the promise of reinstating them in their positions when they returned, but failed to keep it.

Miss Mary Clark, of the State Charities Aid Association, was the chief speaker at the meeting of the New York Mothers' City Club. "Homes for the Homeless" was the topic under discussion.

"There are a great many young mothers with babies sent out daily from the maternity hospitals," said Miss Clark, "who have no one to care for them. There are only about one-third of these unmarried mothers, but it seems to be the fashion for some men to disappear just as soon as they are out of work. There are only two things for a deserted mother to do—put her baby in an institution or take it with her and try to support it. If she tries the first she intends to take the little one out as soon as she can, but she soon becomes accustomed to being separated from it, and leaves it there. Babies cannot stand the life of an institution; they need the individual care that the mother gives. We have collected statistics at Randall's Island, and 98 out of every 100 babies under six months old taken there without their mothers die, and there is a larger death rate among the foundlings, for they all die. A baby that is not reclaimed or adopted within the first few months dies. The institution child with one parent is more desolate than an orphan, for there is no chance of its being adopted; the parent will not consent to that, and when it is sixteen it goes out all unprepared to fight life's battle."

"If the mother takes the baby it is very hard for her, for she is not strong, and is not apt to be a skilled workwoman. There is no city in the world that pauperizes its children like New York. We pauperize 35 out of every 117 in the population, while in Philadelphia the proportion is about 1 in 2,000, in Boston 1 in 850, and in London something like 1 in 450. We have double the number of paupers of any city in the world."

A novel case is before the Chicago Courts. C. S. Becker, a waiter, is to answer to a charge of stealing fruits and pastry from the hotel, he will ask the court to decide a curious question of ownership. Becker is charged with having appropriated to his own use two apples and two macaroons which were left on a table after a party whom he had been serving had finished their meal. He told the manager that he considered that in taking the apples and macaroons he was only taking leftovers and that he wanted them for his wife and little boy. Both are dangerously ill. Becker was taken to jail and not allowed to see them and kept locked up three days until his mother could procure a bondsman. Meanwhile the little boy was expected to die at any moment. The value of the edibles taken is about 4 cents.

SECTION HAVERHILL.

Official Statement on its Position in the Local Turmoil.

The Socialist Labor party, in view of the many questions which are asked every day with reference to the recent municipal election, and because of the further fact that it is styled by many a "Socialist" victory, coupled with the knowledge of the existence of two distinct political organizations, both of which are called "Socialists," together with the confusion of thought which results therefrom, makes this public statement addressed to the working class especially, that further confusion may be avoided upon this question which to-day engages the attention of so many minds. That we may correctly understand what constitutes a Socialist party, it is essential that we first find out what is Socialism. In all the countries of the world, wherever the International Socialist Labor party has its organization, Socialism means the collective ownership and operation of all the means of production, i. e., the land and capital of the nation. It means the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class. It therefore follows that to be a Socialist party, the organization which parades itself as such must stand upon a clear-cut working class platform, unhampered by capitalist or middle class programmes, such as colonization schemes, farmers' programmes, potato patches or single tax, or public ownership schemes, a la Glasgow, which simply transfer the ownership from the capitalist stockholders to the capitalist taxpayers, thereby intensifying their ability for exploiting the working class by placing at the command of capitalism all the means and powers of government, to be used whenever the working class refuse to longer submit to this up-to-date method of fleecing. To be a Socialist party it must oppose the further exploitation of the wage slave, whether the exploiter be the trust magnate or the small manufacturer or farmer. To be a Socialist party it must admit and defend the philosophy upon which the international movement is corner-stoned, the class struggle, which, briefly stated, is that under capitalism society is divided into two distinct classes of people with diametrically opposed interests, a possessing class of capitalists, amongst which is distributed, in various forms and unequal shares, the ownership of the whole existing wealth, including the land and machinery of production, together with the commodities which must be consumed in the sustenance of life; a dispossessed or proletarian class, who own nothing but their labor power, which is useless unless exerted upon nature through the machinery of production. Since machinery is owned exclusively by the capitalist class, each proletarian must sell his labor power to a capitalist or association of capitalists in order that he may obtain the necessities of life. Of the wealth produced by his labor power, the portion which he receives is called "wages." The other part is appropriated by the capitalist and is called "profits." As wages naturally depend upon the competition amongst the working class, and this competition increases with the displacement of labor by machinery, each capitalist conducting his business with a sole view to his own immediate profits, and without regard to the public welfare, no provision is made for the re-employment of the labor displaced. Not only, then, is the rate of wages steadily declining, but the number of proletarians who must starve in enforced idleness is constantly increasing. In other words, the struggle for existence amongst the workers becomes more intense as inventive genius supplies the means of ever greater abundance with less and less effort. Thus you see that progressive competition is the law of wages, while progressive concentration is the law of capital. As the primitive tool developed into the machine, the artisan was driven into the factory of some small capitalist, who in turn was driven out of business by his larger and more powerful competitor and so on, until the largest capitalists, unable to longer singly possess themselves of the vast machinery necessary to carry on industry, unite into corporations and later into trusts. Concentration in productive industry necessitates a corresponding concentration in distribution agency or commerce. Thus does individual capitalism develop into collective capitalism, less and less competitive, while individual labor develops into collective labor more and more competitive.

At last a point is reached where the class struggle culminates, a point "where to be or not to be" is the question of a majority of the people. The issue is plain. The instruments of collective labor must be owned collectively for the benefit of the whole people. That is the Co-operative Commonwealth. A Commonwealth in which each worker shall have the free exercise and full benefits of his faculties multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization. Having thus briefly sketched the philosophy of the class struggle which indissolubly binds together the class-conscious Socialist army of emancipation the world over in the ranks of the International Socialist Labor party, which is guided in its tactics by its scientific knowledge of the workings of capitalism deduced from "Capital," the life work of that greatest discoverer of the 19th century, Karl Marx. With the torch of science we scrutinize closely the political organizations of this city which parade as "Socialists," and we find but one which complies with these requirements, that is the Socialist Labor party. The

"STATISTICS."

The Connecticut "Bureau of Labor" a Bureau of Humbug.

In the Hands of the Capitalist Class, that Which is Originally Intended to Throw Light upon the Social Question is Turned into a Dark Lantern and Means to Debauch the Public Mind—The Spectacle of "Surplus Wealth" Veiled with New-fangled Phrases—And Bouquets Thrown at Pure and Simpledom.

The 14th Annual Report of the Connecticut Bureau of Labor Statistics is just out, and is an interesting document in many ways. The Social Question, ever pressing forward for solution peeps out of every page, although the Commissioner, Mr. Samuel B. Horne, is doing his level best to hide it behind figures and shallow arguments.

Mr. Horne has invented a new word to get around the Mireful meaning of surplus value. He calls it "Industry Product."

Regarding the much talked about competition between the South versus the North, Mr. Horne is trying to prove that there is something in it, but gives the whole thing away as a swindle by the very figures he produces. The figures show that there are at least two Southern States—Tennessee and Virginia—that pay higher wages to the textile workers than Connecticut, but, says Mr. Horne, their product is comparatively small.

Mr. Horne also proves with his figures that the Northern textile worker does almost as much work again as his Southern competitor, but, says Mr. Horne, that is probably due to the fact that there are more children employed in the South than in the North. The whole argument is proven a swindle by the figures, which show that in Massachusetts alone the total number of spindles increased by 400,000 more in the past ten years than in all the Southern States put together. The exact figures are:

In Massachusetts the total number of spindles during the past ten years increased 2,460,522, while during the same period the total number of spindles in all the Southern States combined increased only 2,006,109.

The fact that the cost of production is larger in the South than in the North is sagely explained by Mr. Horace Wadlin of the Massachusetts Bureau as being due to the fact that the Southern mills are not so effectively organized as the Northern ones; in other words, wage slavery is not so far developed in the South as in the North.

The Connecticut Bureau also furnishes facts to show the age limit under which children may be employed in the North.

In Connecticut, the law is rather elastic and says children under 14 years who can not read or write must show a certificate from a school teacher that they attend an evening school before they can be employed as wage slaves. As the average American child can read and write at 7, the law is certainly very flexible and open to violations.

In Maine, children under 10 years may be employed, providing they attend school at least 4 months a year. In New Hampshire and Vermont, the age limit is 10 years. In Massachusetts 13, and in Rhode Island 12 years.

The Report speaks of the organized labor of Connecticut, compliments it for its conservatism, and says that there never was such perfect harmony between capital and labor as there is now, and then it also says: "At every session of our General Assembly, the workmen of Connecticut appear before that august body advocating the passage of laws which they assert are for the betterment of their condition."

There are many letters published from officers of the various unions giving answers to the question, Does organized labor benefit the workmen? and a more chaotic state of mind can not well be imagined upon the labor question than what is gleaned from those answers.

Carroll D. Wright has also an essay upon the subject in which this sentence appears: "The knowledge of conditions as they are, THERE IS GROWING A NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY." What this new economy is, like is shut out evidently by Mr. Horne, who does not like the looks of that animal. The report proves what it proved last year also, that the number of wage slaves increases and the wages decrease.

The report has it that there are 105 labor organizations in Connecticut with a total membership of 10,737, of whom 1,232, or 11 1/2 per cent., were out of work in 1897. The report eulogizes Gompers' pure and simple organization, the Connecticut State Branch A. F. of L., and says that it numbers 80 organizations with about 5,000 members.

In all of the letters, however, the statement is made that this organization has 17 affiliated unions. Fact is that the writer of these lines, who was secretary of that organization in 1892, has it on record that in 1892 this organization had 52 affiliated unions with a total membership of 5,492, and it paid out Gompers' treasury that year \$64.57 per capita tax. It is not surprising then that the per capita tax was raised at Kansas City from 1/2 cent to 5 cents per member.

M. RUTHER.

Holyoke, Mass.

(Continued on page 4.)

(Continued on page 2.)

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)..... 2,000
 In 1892 (Presidential)..... 12,521
 In 1896 (Presidential)..... 21,157
 In 1897 (Presidential)..... 23,123
 In 1898 (Presidential)..... 26,564
 In 1899 (Presidential)..... 55,673

With this factor we must deal, recognizing that the trades union is an economic necessity; we must now take our stand as to whether to tolerate the traitors as in the past and so invite confusion, or to scourge these mercenary adventurers from the Temple which they disgrace. We must finally settle whether the trades union shall be a lever to raise the workers; or, as in the past, a lever, whose fulcrum is the neck of labor, to boost frauds, like Powderly, from the machine shop into a Commissionship of Immigration, and Gompers from a cigar factory into a lucrative office with prospects of capitalist favors as a reward for his rigid "conservatism."

ANTHONY McDONALD,

Sec'y. Prov. Textile Workers,
S. T. & L. A.

THEY SOWED THE STORM, NOW REAP THE WHIRLWIND.

Professor William Graham Sumner, of Yale, delivered in his city last Monday an impassioned, at times eloquent address against expansion. The title he chose for his discourse was catchy and appropriate: "The Conquest of the United States by Spain." He spoke with fervor against "Imperialism" as an evil that threatened to engulf the nation, he argued against the dreaded calamity with all the intensity that deep apprehension for the dark future prompted his mind to. His closing words were:

"There is a saying that 'Americans can do anything.' Many are willing to run into a hole, trusting to luck and cleverness to get out. There are some things that Americans cannot do. Americans cannot make 2 plus 2 equal 5. You may answer that that is an arithmetical impossibility and is not in the range of our subject. Very well. Americans cannot collect \$2 a gallon tax on whiskey. They tried it through many years and failed. That is an economic and political impossibility. The roots of which are in human nature. Americans cannot govern a city of 100,000 inhabitants so as to get comfort and convenience in it at a low cost and without jobbery. The Fire Department of this city is now demoralized by political jobbery. Spain and all her possessions are not worth so much to you and me as the efficiency of the Fire Department of New Haven. The Americans in Connecticut cannot abolish the rotten borough system. Americans cannot reform the pension law. It is very doubtful if policy by Americans can keep up an army of 100,000 men in time of peace. Americans cannot assure the suffrage to negroes throughout the United States. Americans cannot assure life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to negroes inside of the United States. When the negro Postmaster's house was set on fire in the night in South Carolina, and not only he but his wife and children were murdered as they came out, and when, moreover, this incident passed without legal investigation or punishment, it was a bad omen for the extension of liberty to Malays and Tagals by simply setting over them the American flag. Upon a more serious examination, the off-hand disposal of an important question of policy by the declaration that 'Americans can do anything' proves to be only a silly piece of bombast. The laws of nature are just as valid for Americans as for Europeans, and if we commit acts we shall have to take consequences, just like other people.

The attitude of Prof. Sumner as depicted in this peroration is that of a man in despair at an approaching storm. To those who only now hear of him, his plight might inspire sympathy; to those acquainted with him through previous utterances his plight inspires justifiable delight: He helped to sow the storm and must now reap the whirlwind.

It is now about twelve years that Prof. Sumner has been delivering himself, off and on, on matters connected with the Social Question. Hardly one of these deliverances but helped lay the foundation upon which the present stupendous blunder of expansion is built, helped to sow the seed from which the present expansion flower is but a blossom.

The corner-stone of the present expansion dementia is quite well pointed out by Prof. Sumner, to wit, a notion that "Americans can do anything," or that "America is entirely unlike any other country." And this notion is one that Prof. Sumner helped to cultivate. Again and again, his arguments against Socialism had that notion for a "clinch": unable to refute Socialism by reason, he regularly resorted to the clap-trap of "Americanism," thus seeking to raise a bar against Socialism by tickling, inciting and encouraging a national superstition that now, unable to do the anti-Socialist work expected of it, is producing its legitimate fruit.

Well may Prof. Sumner and his like tremble at the dark clouds that are gathering on the horizon. In America, no more than elsewhere, do trees grow with their roots in the sky. "Americanism" is no hoodoo.

Lucien Saniel lectures this evening on "Territorial Expansion" at 2314 Second Avenue, near 119th Street.

GOOD-BYE, NEW PARTY-GOOD-BYE!

Last week, the Populist régime of Kansas went out, and Republican rule resumed sway in all the three departments of the Government. With its passing away in Kansas it has virtually passed away everywhere else. The Populist eclipse is not only total, it is permanent.

This is the season to pass that interesting movement in review. But the work should not be lightly undertaken, nor should the reviewer be limited to an article's space. A good-sized book would be needed to do justice to the subject. A few notes will, however, be here in place.

The cradle song or lullaby of Populism ran to the refrain: "Good-bye, old party; good-bye." The Republican, or Old Party, having sustained some defeats at the hands of Populism, the latter considered itself a permanent victor, and the Republican party permanently overthrown. It has turned out otherwise. And logically so.

In its march onward, Civilization may receive repulses, it may be driven back from points it has reached; but these repulses can only be temporary: a lower grade of Civilization can not in the long run prevail over a higher one. That, and nothing else, was the issue in the conflict between Populism and Republicanism. With all its vices, that render it rotten-ripe for overthrow, Republicanism is the highest political expression of the social system founded on the private ownership of the machinery of production. In reaching this highest point in its development, the social system of private ownership in the machinery of production develops within its womb the germs of that higher order where competition for existence, the animal-like struggle for life, can be done away with; where humanity, emancipated from the trammels of individualism, is at last capable, through co-operation, to develop the capabilities of its species. The capitalist system, in its highest expression, is the present conservative form of Social Development, a form whose continuance Civilization peremptorily demands, as the only means to preserve the conquests of the race, until, fully educated to its higher mission, the race itself shall be capable to lay aside that form as a scaffolding no longer needed from which to climb up to that higher structure—the Socialist Republic. The Republican party is the political upholder of the transitory, though needed, social system of capitalism.

Up against it Populism reared its head. But the programme of Populism was not the programme of the Social Order next in line of progress. It fought the Republican party, not as the political exponent of a social system that had survived its usefulness, but as the political exponent of a social system that had degenerated; it sought, not the overthrow of the capitalist scaffolding so as to reach a high order, it sought its overthrow so as to bring things back to "American" conditions, to the times of the "Daddies."—In short, it sought to drive Civilization back, make it forfeit all its conquests. Such a movement may have impetus enough to disturb the social equilibrium for a while; permanently it can accomplish nothing; sooner or later, and sooner than later, its forces are spent and things as they were regain predominance.

But, in taking the parallax of Populism, it should be contrasted, not with the political expression of the present Social Order only, it should be contrasted also with the political expression of the on-coming next higher Social Order,—the Socialist Labor party. Populism claimed for itself all the glories of all human aspirations, accordingly it numerously proclaimed its Socialistic, if not its Socialist, spirit. Its attitude in this respect is pregnant with instruction. As a movement of retrogression, it was necessarily a movement of deception. "Socialistic" utterances, official and otherwise, were resorted to recklessly, but always under cover; the S. L. P. was to be captured by blandishments; and the baits that were used were baits to captivate the "reformers." In pursuit of this policy, Populism in Kansas adopted the Referendum and Initiative plank. "What more democratic do you want?" it asked in sight of the "stiff-necked" attitude of the S. L. P. Yet one of the last acts of the Kansas Populist Legislature that just expired was to DEFEAT A BILL FOR THE REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE! As bait, the plank did first rate; but as a dying confession the truth was coughed up.

Good-bye, Populism; good-bye, thou wert an exhalation of the dead past. The present struggle of Civilization is not between WHAT IS and WHAT WAS; it is between WHAT IS and WHAT WILL BE.

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POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

McKinley having in regular Persian satrap style issued his orders to the Filipinos to submit to the military rule that it has pleased him to bestow upon them, the New York "Tribune," Republican, hastens to justify such conduct with this argument:

We have to deal with children in the matter of government, and are obliged to act accordingly. It is always foolish to let a child imagine that he controls the situation. So the order of the President, requiring immediate submission or subjection of the insurrectionists, is the only one possible, and for the people of the Philippine Islands is by far the best thing possible.

Have the officers and press of the Republican party fallen from grace? Has the party that "freed" the negro, whom, in a worse than child-state, it forthwith raised to the stature of political manhood, and to whom it forthwith entrusted the safety of several States, located, not thousands of miles outside of our boundaries, but located right within and at our very vitals,—has the party that has such a record behind it, and boasts about it, calling itself the "party of great moral ideas," has that party dropped its morals?

No. The center of gravity of political morals is the material interests of a class politically organized. The material interests of the Old North required the speedy political enfranchisement of the negro; hence the pariah of the day before, was forthwith raised to political peerage; to-day, the material interests of that same Republican party would suffer if the Filipino is free; hence the heroes who, arms in hand have withstood Spanish domination, are to be reduced (if the thing is possible) to the level of pariahs.

Political and moral utterances are unintelligible unless scrutinized by the lamp of the material class interests of the utterer.

The theory upon which court clowns were once kept has not yet lost its force, neither have the clowns ceased to exist. Some one, it was found necessary, there should be to tell the truth with impunity; the result was the Clown, who, with his bells and baubles seemed inoffensive, and thus could utter truths inoffensively, in a manner as to bring them to the notice of those who cared to profit by them. Same conditions and causes, same result.

Our capitalist class enjoys regal power; those about it may not strike any but the attitude of obsequiousness; yet even it realizes the advantage of hearing the truth, provided only it be so told as to amuse it, leaving it free to take the hint or neglect it by affecting to look upon it simply as a joke. The clown in the retinue of the capitalist class is what Artemus Ward called the "jokist" in the funny magazines, or in the columns of the "business" papers.

Here, for instance, are two truths that proceed from our modern Clowns, and both of which have a sting that goes deep.

The New York "Life," an élite Jokist, gets off this:

"I care not," said the Capitalist, "who makes the laws of the land, so long as I can help form the Trusts."

And the Clown in the Indianapolis, Ind., "Journal" throws out the remark:

"Our duty to humanity," said the Corned Philosopher, "demands that we should administer the affairs of the weak and oppressed, and our duty to ourselves demands that we should get mighty good pay for the job."

Ruskin we think it was who suggested that, if one wants to test the integrity of the principles of a publication, he should read, not merely down the column, but across the page. An honest, and therefore consistent, publication will reveal no inconsistencies; a dishonest, and therefore inconsistent, publication will not only contradict itself, but by some occult dispensation of providence, the contradictions will appear on the same latitudes of the paper.

Mr. James Duncan, a dried-in-the-wood Labor Fakir, furnishes a striking verification of the above theory in his paper, the Baltimore, Md., "Granite Cutters' Journal."

In an editorial in which he attempts to refute the irrefutable arguments in favor of the class-conscious economic and political struggle of Labor, made by the Corresponding Secretary of the Barre, Vt., Local Union of Granite Cutters, Mr. Duncan says:

There is no reason to believe that the masses will stand against the unjust legislation, for it is founded on justice and equity.

This passage occurs at about the middle of the 4th column on the 4th page of this month's issue. Exactly opposite thereto—at about the middle of the 6th column on the same 4th page—the following declaration turns up, over the signature of the identical Duncan:

We consider it one of the first duties of organized labor, and all friends of labor, to take a categorical stand against the unjust and tyrannical power of the courts, and against the growing evil of government by injunction, which threatens to subvert the liberties of the working people of America, and that we call upon Congress to fully investigate the cases where injunctions have been issued against workmen and to provide such laws and remedies as will prevent such arbitrary use of power by the courts.

It takes an ignorant and disreputable Labor Fakir, in pursuit of his own private interests at the cost of the rank and file of the working class who keep him alive, to put his foot into his own mouth; to declare, in one place, that the justice and equity of the workingman's demands is a guarantee of the capitalist's acceptance of those demands, and in another place on the self-same page, urge the workers, as their first duty, to secure legislation against the injustice which that same capitalist practices against them through his Courts!

Five them out, proletarians!

THEY DON'T WANT TO SPOIL THEIR GAME WITH THE CAPITALISTS.

[New York "Vorwaerts," German Organ of the S. L. P.]

In the December issue of the "International Wood-Worker," whose Editor, Thomas J. Kidd, was elected in Kansas City a member of the Executive of the American Federation of Labor, we find the following characteristic outpouring on the occasion of the disposal of a strike in Minneapolis:

The men were out only a few days when the company gracefully withdrew the notice of reduction. The manager of the Bonanza Co. has had an excellent record for the past twenty-seven years, and during all that time there has been complete harmony between him and those in his employ. The union men entertain no animosity towards him. FEELING THAT HE WAS ACTING IN A MANLY AND HONEST MANNER TO BENEFIT HIS INSTITUTION, at the same time they felt justified in taking the stand they did, because it menaced their bread and butter. IT CAN BE NO INJURY TO THE WOOD-WARE MANUFACTURERS IF THEIR EMPLOYEES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY ORGANIZE AND INCREASE WAGES. It will simply mean a slight increase in the prices of their products. Something that the consumer will have no objection to pay.

This endeavor of propitiating the capitalists towards the workmen is characteristic of the whole attitude of the pure and simple trade unionist. Not in politics only, but also in their economic tactics, they are guided by the principle that they must not place themselves in irreconcilable opposition to the capitalists.

As to politics, the principle was given expression to at the convention of the American Federation, by the delegate who declared: "If we bind ourselves to any 'ism,' it will be useless to petition Congress or the State Legislatures for laws." The pure and simple only mean to beg for crumbs of charity, candy-sticks, from the present ruling class; hence, they may not hostilities the ruling class with the tactics of the class struggle, but, on the contrary, must give the ruling class to understand that, for the sake for an occasional stick of candy, they are ever ready to forget the usual horse-whiplashes meted out to them, even to kiss the hand that swings the whip.

To what extent the pure and simple leaders are intent upon disowning, even in their economic tactics, the spirit of the class struggle (the assertion of which would prove to the capitalists the uselessness of the occasional sticks of candy), has been shown by the miners' organization in the most striking manner. The passage quoted above reveals the fact that the leadership of the wood-workers takes the identical sorry posture. And this posture, which denies the class struggle and, along with that, the whole foundation of the Labor Movement, did not now for the first time find expression in Kidd's organ. The article in the December issue of the "International Wood-Worker" might have been considered as an accidental slip, all the more in view of the insignificance of the occasion. But this article is a repetition of former "improvements for harmony," and must be judged together with them.

In the August issue of his paper, Kidd reported the settlement of the wood-workers' strike in Oshkosh. In the course of that strike, several bloody conflicts took place. One of this was before the factory of Robert McMillan & Co. The strikers were attacked by the scabs and deputy sheriffs, and one of the strikers was killed by the machinist of the firm with a blow over his head. This incident was promptly utilized by the capitalists to induce the Governor to call out the militia. Thus the capitalists became masters of the situation, and they condescended to allay public sentiment that was strong against them.

The firm of McMillan & Co. was the first to settle. After the strikers had undergone another clubbing by the police, the other firms likewise arrived at an agreement with the strikers. What these settlements amounted to may be inferred from the circumstance that, in the December issue of the "Wood-Worker," only one Oshkosh firm is mentioned as a union place, and this one was either not at all, or not prominently, engaged in the conflict of last summer. Nevertheless, Kidd wrote on the settlement of the Oshkosh strike as follows:

The military stayed in the city for a week, and before it left an excellent agreement was made with the McMillan Co. In this connection we desire to pay our concern. So far as we could learn he was the only employer who was assaulted. Yet, notwithstanding the assault made upon him, and the assault by the police, which was UNPROVOKED (believe me that this is the identical manufacturer whose employee struck a striker dead!) he showed himself to be a big man, a BROAD-MINDED AND A GENEROUS MAN, by throwing aside whatever personal feelings of animosity he might entertain towards those who opposed him, and made an agreement that was highly satisfactory to the men as well as to himself. The unfortunate collision between the police and the strikers on August 4. Shortly after this the settlement with the manufacturers was made. The battle is over now and we sincerely trust that THE REST OF FEELING WILL AGAIN PREVAIL BETWEEN THE MANUFACTURERS AND THEIR EMPLOYEES.

Here we see the trade union leader so anxious not to spoil his game with the capitalists that he pardons them the murder committed on Labor and the calling out of the militia; nay, that he even expresses his humble gratitude on the ground of their not having allowed themselves to be carried beyond the point of reconciliation by the attempt of their workmen to resist them. Instead of preaching the class struggle to the workers, he impresses upon them the wrongfulness of looking upon the capitalists, who had just beaten them down, as enemies; and he argues that the workmen should rather be happy that the capitalists did not constitute their strike as a class struggle, and did not proceed to greater extremities than they actually did. That is tantamount to telling the workmen that neither in their economic struggles should they proceed recklessly against the capitalists; that they should not go too far, lest they wholly forfeit the good will of the capitalists.

Such is the spirit that characterizes the whole conduct—political as well as economic—of the pure and simple. Where this spirit prevails, an aggressive movement, and that means a Labor Movement, is quite out of question.

The Hessians of 1776 Resurrected.

CHICAGO, Jan. 16.—The willingness of the men of to-day to fight for \$13 a month, plus a uniform, embalmed beef and other delicacies, proves that thousands of men are so degraded, brutalized and impoverished by the infamous capitalistic system under which they live, that they will do anything their employer commands, so long as they are paid for the job. Manhood and independence are to them unknown qualities. Fighting the oppressor to-day, and the oppressed to-morrow, is but a matter of business with them, and involves no fine distinction of morals.

That in this condition there is menace and danger to the workers or wage slaves of this country, cannot be denied, and one which it will be well for them to consider seriously in the near future, for these Hessian guns can and will be as readily turned on the wage slaves, as on Spanish sheep, whenever it suits their capitalist employers to do so.

Reduced to a science, it means that tramps in uniform are to be used to look after the tramps in rags, both products of our barbarous capitalist system of production and distribution. The capitalist blanket sheets, both Democrat and Republican, whom the workers love so well, and vote for, to enslave themselves, not having been sufficiently gorged with Spanish gore, are now howling for Aguinaldo gore, and this valiant patriot stands ready with 30,000 determined men to prevent either Spanish or American flags being raised over the land of his birth.

He deserves well of all lovers of liberty, for oppression is still oppression, whether under the Spanish flag or the stars and stripes, and the hero who fights for liberty is still a hero, even if his blow is levelled at this republic.

P. P. AYER.

"The Masters of the Bread."

[Written for THE PEOPLE by Erin.]

Anger reigned in Milltown, the "Masters of the Bread" sent a message to their wage slaves, this is the message they sent: "Our profit from your labor is now smaller than before. A wage reduction must ensue, ten per cent. or more. Competition is now fierce and it's growing fiercer still. Warehouses are overflowing with the products of the mill: To take this surplus action we very much regret it. But the heralded prosperity has not arrived as yet. The wage slaves heard the news and were much dismayed."

They had often been bamboozled by "Protection" and "Free Trade," by "Silver Bugs" and "Gold Bugs" and "the A. F. of B." A meeting in the village was held that very night. The question was "To be or not to be a member of the Union?" Men and women were assembled, children, too, were there. Babes upon their mothers' breasts, and here upon their heads.

Soon the meeting came to order, the chairman sadly said: "Fellow workers, we are wage slaves to these 'Masters of the Bread.' We are powerless to fight them on the 'Old Trades Union' field. Too often we have tried it, and each time were forced to yield. Too often we have followed 'Pure and Simple' to defeat. Too often we have suffered for a crust of bread to eat. While our leaders got in 'office,' as reward for their deceit: Yes, the Labor Fakirs have betrayed us to the class that is above us; But Judas like they kiss us still and tell us how they love us."

"But we have a Socialist speaker I will introduce to you. He is a class-conscious workingman, a New England Trades Unionist, too." Then the meeting gave attention to this honest, fearless man. He was criticised by "the Masters of the Bread," they had had him under ban. From the depths of ancient history the speaker now began To trace social evolution and its effect upon man. The patriarchal family, State feudalism, too. And their embryonic features were all brought into view.

Step by step he led them from the old tools to the new. Showed them the path to freedom, told them what to do: And each face that had been scowling showed an interest deep and true. And they said unto each other: "I think he's right, don't you?" In letters large these words appeared in the air: "Proletarians! The Socialist Labor party sends to you its greeting: Your slavery's night soon will pass, Demand the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class."

The wage slaves now in Milltown are united to a man. They have organized a Section and are doing the "Unionist" thing. For the Socialist Labor party and the "New Trades Union" plan. For their wives and children soon will come a happier day. "The Masters of the Bread" will not have their cruel war. When the Co-operative Commonwealth is ushered in to stay. Now the moral of this story is that every workingman Should join a Socialist Section as quickly as he can. Vote the Labor ticket and put the Labor Fakirs under ban.

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Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan.

Brother Jonathan—I know so many good-hearted men and women among the Socialists that, for their own sake, I hope they will never live to see the victory of their party. That day must be a very sad day for them; they would find out how they miscalculated things; it would break their hearts.

Uncle Sam—For instance? B. J.—They overlook so many things. For instance: they overlook the scab. Now, one little question punctures your Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called. What will you do with the scab, seeing there are so many of them?

U. S.—What—WE would DO—with the SCAB? B. J.—Yes; what would you do with him?

U. S.—Do you know what a scab is? B. J.—Course I do.

U. S.—Define the thing.

B. J.—A scab?—Well, he is a man—

Yes, a scab is—Why, everybody knows what a scab is; what's the use of defining him?

U. S.—Your difficulty in defining him shows the use of a definition. I'll help you out. A scab is a man, who either has no work or very poor work, and is willing to take the place that an other strikes against because that job, had as it may be, is better than what he now gets.

B. J.—I'll accept that definition. It suits me exactly. What are you going to do with him in your Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called?

U. S.—If you accept the definition you must accept all that flows from it.

B. J.—So I do!

U. S.—Then you must accept the conclusion that there is to-day virtually a condition of famine for many in the country.

B. J.—I'll grant that; there is not enough for all; if you fill some starving mouths you must take away from others, and—

U. S.—Expose THESE to starvation?

B. J.—Just so; you would be robbing Peter to pay Paul, so to speak.

U. S.—You are going much too fast; but I'm glad I gave you rope because you have now made clear to me what it really is that troubles you. When you say "scab" you don't mean that. What you have in mind is a different question. You think there is not wealth enough for all—

B. J.—Just so.

U. S.—Do you think so from the presence of the scab, who, being ready to take a poor job, shows he is starving? B. J.—Now you got it.

U. S.—And you conclude that, that being so, somebody MUST starve.

B. J.—Correct.

U. S.—Did you ever read about the \$2,000,000 outfit that old Lefter of Calcutta sent bestowing on his daughter, the Vice-Reine of India, Lady Curzon?

B. J.—No! Did he?

U. S.—Yes, besides her dower was about \$3,000,000.

B. J.—You don't say!

U. S.—And did you ever read about the \$15,000,000 dower that Anna Gould took to the French Prince of Casselane?

B. J.—The devil you say!

U. S.—And you probably never heard of the \$2,000,000 that Clara Barton of Detroit bought the Prince of Chimay with?

B. J.—Where did you get all that from?

U. S.—And you evidently don't know that we of America are amassing about 200 other precious hoardings in royal style abroad?

B. J.—That's news to me.

U. S.—Is it news to you that our Astors in America give \$500,000 half? That our Pierponts spend in luxuries several millions a year, and so forth.

B. J.—(Greatly surprised)—You make my head swim.

U. S.—Now, do you imagine that all these precious hoardings would starve even if 90 per cent. of this wealth, that Labor, and not they, produced was turned to the millions now starving?

B. J.—(Recovering from his surprise)—No; they would not starve. But that don't alter the case. There are so many starving now that, even if all the superabundance of the rich were transferred to the poor there still would remain wide-spread famine. What would you do with these starvings in your Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called?

U. S.—You will admit that such a transfer would afford some relief?

B. J.—Yes, some.

U. S.—Well, to tell you what we would do with the scab in our Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called, I shall first tell you something else, that will also be brand new to you. What we Socialists are really after, is not so much the wealth these capitalists consume, but the machinery of production that they have robbed society of. That machinery of production (we call it "Capital") is capable of producing an abundance for all. It does not do that to-day, because the robber class of capitalists don't let their account in allowing it to do so. Stripped from this private ownership that prevents machinery from being as productive as it can, and no longer needing the harness of unproductive hirelings that capitalism breeds, no one need starve. He who will work will have the enjoyment of the abundance he produces. Where will the "scab" be then? In our Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called, there will be left only the word "SCAB" as a reminder of the dirty social system that we shall have overthrown.

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CORRESPONDENCE

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PUBLIC EMPLOYEES.

Their State Tells the Tale as to How Things are Outside.

ELLWOOD CITY, Pa., Jan. 15.—I have been reading the papers and have seen all about Gompers' "victory" over "that Socialism that is the very opposite of trades unionism and so on-American." Always being a worker in the ranks, I have no organization, and seeing in no direction any example of the benefits conferred by any union upon any of my friends or anyone else who did belong to them, I have always had a very poor opinion of unions, and fully sympathized with my friends who were members and who were always complaining of the rottenness and the shortcomings of their union. Mr. Gompers' remarks have caused me to pay much more heed to the labor movement than I ever did before, especially as I have begun to understand the meaning of Capitalism and Socialism, which not only gives me an idea of the importance of a labor movement, but shows the danger of such a decay, sham labor movement as the A. F. of L. or any other body of workmen with a capitalist politician and his henchmen, in disguise (and a thin one, too) at its head, "keeping politics out," without themselves even having the decency to have a political conviction of their own, but have their "influence" for sale to the highest bidder, so that at each election we are disgusted with the sight of each leader flying around with his little union influence tall behind him. One is bought in by this party, as Mr. Garland of the Amalgamated, by the Republicans, and another by that party, like Sovereign by the Democrats, and even so down to the petty resolutions endorsing each dog-catcher or squire and "friend of labor," regardless of party or party principles, so long as it is capitalistic. I have noticed that at such times those active and influential persons from such unions were in a happy frame of mind, and were very busy talking up Mr. So and So's politics and that if necessary they would clutch the argument or whatever you would call it, with a drink on himself, an unusual proceeding. Such things always disgusted me so that I felt that under no circumstances would I consent to be yoked up with such glibly-ignorant persons with their evidently unprincipled leaders. But as I said before, THE PEOPLE and Gompers have set me to thinking, and if I knew any length of time what I was going to work at, and the trade was organized, I would certainly be among them. I have always felt that towards the unions for closing, as far as they were able, all opportunities of learning a trade; and always thought that if they expected "labor" to be friendly and assist them, that they should be willing to do the same, but since they forced me to work the wages of which are low, this fact would allow me to buy non-union or un-labeled goods because they were cheap and better fitted to my wages. The small portion of workmen who are organized and the utter failure of boycotts and labelization show that I was not alone. In my lone voice, I always felt that any man who did no work or any man who received a greater return for his work than my wages, was my material enemy, since less of his life went into my living than mine went into his, and he therefore was using up my vitality without giving me an equivalent for it.

But, enough; as it now is, I ask why, since the influential labor fakirs are such dear friends to all capitalist politicians, and all such politicians are such staunch friends of labor, is it so that public employees do not fare any better at their hands, especially since they are supposed to give these politicians their undivided support? I want to know. Having worked for the State of Pennsylvania in different capacities, on and off, the last ten years, I would through that experience call your attention to a thing or two.

First, public employees are an increasing quantity and will continue to be. Second, they are as free as anyone else to vote as they choose if they only think so, which most of them do.

Third, public employees, if organized, are in a position, first of any, to get the benefit of any beneficial legislation, since the Government itself would publicly have to violate its own laws if it did not enforce them when called on to do so. As it is, no one knows whether the public employees are working contrary to labor laws or not, as they have no voice and are afraid.

Fourth, other employees can use their political power with deadly effect in favor of better labor laws. If they are once freed from the baleful influence of the fakir: they can know also that all improvement made in the condition of public employees must tend to uplift those employed elsewhere and go towards counteracting the bad effects of over-competition through machinery. Right here notice that all directors of public institutions are capitalists and are interested in one way or another in establishments employing men. Do you think that such "successful business men" get their success through their blindness to their class interests? Would they, do you think, rather see the conditions of public employees or the conditions of their own employees be the better? Would they rather see their hands striving to get into public service or see the public employees trying to get a place in private employment? They know the value of competition too well to admit of more than one answer. When one thinks of the freedom that could be used by these people, in paying good wages with the public cash (being expert tax-dodgers, having no fears of private loss on that account) and making their job solid for time to come by tawing the working class into keeping such practical friends of labor always at the spigot, or bung-hole even; he marvels why it is not so; until he sees the class struggle and realizes the importance of government and politics to the interests of the capitalist class. Who can gain more by standing together and making their class interests safe, than they could by each looking after his private interests regardless of the common class interests, which is as true of any other class. I now consider a public job as a sort of a half-way house, a purgatory between a decent job and

the poor house. The capitalist class must part with a part of their plunder to keep poverty from consuming the "reserve army," fearing other consequences as well as their economic loss without the "army"; fearing that hunger and cold is too honest to be bought and too fearless to be frightened; so a nice public position comes in a handy sop in any case.

The following is a wage scale in the last State Institution that I worked at, and it is fully as good as the rest. I will also verify the statement that the cost of living fixes the wages. Every one says when their attention is called to the low wages: "Yes, they are low, but living is cheap here, and in the end the wages are as good here as elsewhere." Electricians, plumbers, gas fitters, machinists and such get paid from \$1.95 a day down to \$1.04 1-3, 32 hours a day, 7 days a week. Firemen and helpers from \$1.04 1-3 to \$1.31 1-2, same hours. If they board at the institution, they get the washing done, and medical attendance, and 98 1/2 cents a day. The best male attendants get 72 1-3 cents, their board, etc., and are liable to call for duty at any time; they rise at 5 a. m., do their continuous duty until 9 p. m., 7 days in the week, with two afternoons and one day off each week, but never being absent at meal times, when they have duties to perform even on their day off. Newer attendants "in line of promotion" get 50 1/2 cents for the same work. The lady attendants, there are as many of them as male attendants, get from 67 1/2 to 46 cents. The laundry girls, cooks, chambermaids for the officials, etc., get from 39 2-3 cents up. The farm hands, milkers and drivers work full farmers' time and under regular farm hiremen's conditions, which needs no words to paint, since the farmer as a friend of labor and the foundation of the country is well known—each election. Their wages range from 65 to 75 cents a day. Now, one thing is sure. Conditions outside cannot be better or no one would want to enter, and since I am informed that the place could be filled with new employees from cellar to attic at once, from applications at hand, and at the "protected" and "anti-pauper European labor" price of 39 cents a day, and yet this State casts a clear-headed vote of only 4,200, and had 728,300 for McKinley with 427,125 more for Bryan, to say nothing of the small parties.

Well, it is getting time to knock a little politics out of the unions—capitalist politics. These employees are not as might be imagined, a lot of worn-out old persons who have no more hopes to push them on and are glad of any resting place this side of pauperism. They are almost all smart, young and we will add good looking. Many fresh from the farm, all well educated, excepting in economics, a few ex-school teachers, many graduates from near-by normal schools. But it is better here than on the farm, besides one has good clothes on every day, and are in company.

Yes, I fear each one has a glorious pipe dream locked up in his bosom that he will not deliver himself of until a hard knock of fate forces him to. He believes the Fourth of July oratory, his head is stuffed with example of men "rising from poverty, etc.," his mind is clogged up by reading the various "Home Journals" and "Companions" with their cheerful advertisements of "diamond rings FREE" and "you can make \$100 a week easy," etc., etc. He has hopes built on the "Whittingtons and his cat" plan and he feels in his bones that his present drudgery that he does not even leave him time to read the current news, is a sort of a preparation, an ordeal that will fit him to bear the burden of his being President—when his time comes. Yet it is far more likely that his turn will come by getting on a street car job, or as an attendant to a sterilizer in a steam laundry. Yet he has good stuff in him, and will have better sense by and by. He is naturally on the look out for No. 1, and is healthy, persevering and economical, and when he sees that he can turn his vote to good account for his material welfare he will do it, and do it well.

Since a union composed solely of public employees would fare badly at the hands of the politicians, each public employee would fare badly at the hands of the politicians, each public employee should quietly join the S. T. & L. A., and by the aid of his vote, and by strengthening the no-fakir union against the fakirs could deliver a fire that would make the politicians honest a lively time as directed by the union's demands, which would AT ONCE benefit the public employee and at the same time help the other employees; and not the least, the different tactics that the Socialist unions would use toward the politicians coupled to such officials that the Socialist might elect from time to time here and there on bye elections, would have a powerful effect toward bringing the paralyzed and indifferent workingman to his senses and start him in with the rest, for we all want all we can get, and but show a way with a ghost of a chance and you will not be long waiting for help. So actuate, educate, organize—but not where the enemy, the Capitalist Class, has the control of your organization. Don't let him have your political power as well as your labor power. Realize that your ballot is for your own use, not for a favor to give to a friend or the boss.

A. B. GINER.

EXEMPLIFIED.

(Continued from page 1.) It imagines the conflict can be "patched up"; thus it blurs the line that should sharply separate. In their minds the capitalists goats from the Labor sheep. In this confusion of mind, the class-conscious workingmen exit into political power the class that oppresses them, and on the economic field, place their necks condoning into the noose of a capitalist arbitrator.

Let them learn by experience; and, no longer pool-poohing at the "fine-spun Socialist theory about the class struggle," pick their way by the light of Seth Low arbitral awards on the economic and Hazleton Demo-Republican massacres of the workingmen on the political field, straight into the class-conscious economic camp of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the political camp of the Socialist Labor party.

Hurry up, brothers!

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kahn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Handlow, 133 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Executive Committee—George Moore, 61 Hyde street, Montreal.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—147 East 23rd street, New York City. (The party literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Session of Jan. 17, with W. H. Wherry in the chair. Absent: Makkid and Kibbeny. Secretary reported that he had succeeded in securing a loan of \$300 to help tide over the financial difficulties of the party. The Chairman reported that the party had received a letter from the Editor of the "Pittsburgh Courier," that the Publishing Association had already taken action, passing a vote of censure upon the Editor who had been guilty of the offence. Resolved, that in view of the fact that the party cannot afford to have appear in an official organ, a mutilated version of its proceedings, the Editor of the N. E. C. on a matter of party tactics, this N. E. C. demands of the Editor of the "Pittsburgh Courier" a re-publication in full of the letter in question; that the Editor of the "Pittsburgh Courier" be notified that in publishing reports of the proceedings of the N. E. C. the same must be given exactly as they emanate from this N. E. C.; and that this N. E. C. demands an avowed allegiance to the party from all party organs.

Section North Adams, Mass., reported the expulsion of a member with a vote of 5 to 3. The Section is to be informed that this is short of the two-thirds majority demanded by the constitution under Sec. 10 of Art. II, and that the N. E. C. cannot under these circumstances publish the name of the member in question as having been expelled.

Organizer Hickey reported on his work in Pennsylvania, successful in many respects. Several prominent names from Milwaukee were read indicating differences of opinion in the Section, but as the information therein was of a fragmentary character, it was resolved to await further developments.

Charters were granted to new Sections in Erie, Pa., and Delta, Colo.

Rec. Secretary pro tem.

Indiana.

INDIANAPOLIS.—We are so much in the fighting line that we have not much time for correspondence.

The members of the S. L. P. from Indiana send their best greetings and wishes of success to the party on the New Year. Some of our Eastern comrades claim to have the honor of being the first to vote at last election, which we here dispute. Indiana can boast of a 600 per cent. increase in any other State of locality show better. We think not. The outlook for this State is bright. The Sections are on a better basis than ever before. We feel that we shall follow close on the heels of the best of the sister States. At the next election the Indiana S. L. P. will be an official party. Never before have the comrades been so eager for work. The returns of the last election stirred them up. This summer we shall have an effectual tour of agitation. Section Indianapolis will hold a big March Celebration, the proceeds to go to the State Campaign Fund. Our Section celebrated New Year's eve with an entertainment in Columbus Hall. It was a great success; the hall was packed full, a neat sum was realized.

This morning we held election of officers of the different Branches, and expect a hot time. We have here a few soreheads, that is, they have been sore ever since they bumped up against the handwagon of Gompers at Kansas City. Some of them have endless suggestions and Socialist (?) resolutions they left from here. But, my, you should see them now. It is pretty hard to discover them, but they are headed by experience? We hope so. They should realize that the A. F. of L. is nothing but partly a business, jobbing organization and partly a thing kept up by capitalist bodice. A labor organization is only true to its name when the organization is used to better the condition of all the workers and not for the benefit of a few dues-grabbing and political jobs. Behind the scenes, the fall of the A. F. of L. is at hand; its defenders are walking in the valley of the shadow of death, driven there by the Socialists, who are working in the night.

C. REMPLER, Organizer.

Massachusetts.

HAVERHILL.—Section Haverhill, S. L. P., held its regular meeting Sunday, Jan. 8, and elected the following list of officers for the ensuing term: Organizer, Michael Leavitt; Recording and Corresponding Secretary, Michael Leavitt; Treasurer, Carney Wood Doyle; Treasurer, James F. Dailey; Literary Agent, Ernest Chester Peabody; Grievance Committee, C. Leavitt, C. Leavitt, Walter F. Gorvin. It was voted that the above list of officers be published in THE PEOPLE, the official organ of the S. L. P.

MICHAEL LEAVITT, Organizer.

160 Washington street.

New Jersey.

STATE CONVENTION S. L. P. of N. J. To the County Committees, Sections and Branches of the S. L. P. of N. J. Comrades: In obedience to the decision of the last annual State Convention, the State Convention of 1898 will be held on February 22, and opened at 11 a. m. sharp; the place of Convention, being subject to a general vote, will be made known in due time. The above-named organizations are requested to elect delegates to the Convention, Branch, Section or County Committee, who must be furnished with proper credentials and card of membership.

1. Election of chairman and secretary pro tem.
 2. Election of committee on credentials.
 3. Election of permanent officers.
 4. Election of committees:
 - a) Party Press and Literature.
 - b) Resolutions.
 - c) Agitation and Organization.
 - d) Ways and Means.
 5. Report of State Committee and its successors.
 6. Report of Counties and propositions.
 7. Report of committees.
 8. Unfinished business.
 9. Business.
 10. Good and welfare.
 11. Time and place of next convention.
- Comrades and sympathizers from rural districts are most respectfully invited to attend in order to give the delegates information as to the steps to be taken regarding organization and agitation. Hoping that a full representation from throughout the State will be present, the result of this call and that every comrade will help to accomplish this, we remain,

Yours fraternally,

STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P.

E. WEIGEL, Secretary.

NEWARK.—All Socialists and sympathizers with the Socialist Labor party living in the North and West are respectfully invited to attend a meeting to be held Saturday evening, Jan. 21, at No. 18 Polk street, for the purpose of forming a Branch of the S. L. P. Meeting will be called to order at 8:15 promptly.

New York.

ROCHESTER.—The "Socialist" has suspended for lack of finances, labor papers, which frequently copied freely from the same, especially the "Fashion Notes," are placed in the hands of the Labor League members, which is a very good sign; the work we are doing will bear good fruit. We had to rent a larger hall, and the meeting on Sunday afternoon. Last Thursday Comrade Lippe addressed a local of the Brewers' political action and was received most cordially; there were 200 members of one local present; many were reconciled with our

principles and tactics. One of the Iron Moulders' Union elected a comrade, and a true one, to the State Federation over an 22 years long fakir and supporter of R. H. Curran, which shows that we are making heads in the pure and simple. The "Silver Cross," besides hundreds of other books and pamphlets are being sold. We are looking forward to a good increase next fall election. Our Mayor, Dean, who two years ago opposed the plan of a garbage plant owned by the city, now advocates the municipal ownership of the electric light plant. Of course, we will not be slow in making the best of it. We shall be heard from.

WM. LIPPELT, Organizer.

Rhode Island.

A State Convention of the S. L. P. in Rhode Island will be held Friday, Jan. 27, 1899, at 8 p. m. in Textile Hall, 1955 Westminster street, Providence, R. I., to nominate a State ticket for the election in April, to take action on the personnel of the State Committee, and to transact any other party business.

Order of State Committee.

8:15 p. m. J. WITTUM.

A meeting of Providence Section, S. L. P., will be held in Textile Hall, 1955 Westminster street, Providence, R. I., on Friday, Jan. 27, 1899, immediately on the adjournment of the State Convention, to nominate a General Assembly ticket for the election in April and to transact any other party business.

Secretary City Committee Providence Section, S. L. P.

8:15 p. m.

Texas.

SAN ANTONIO.—For the first time since Section San Antonio was organized, death has overtaken one of our comrades; but not death from natural causes; no, he fell by the hand of an assassin. One of our comrades, a journeyman tailor, who on his way home from his shop, was without protection, without even knowing his slayer, shot and instantly killed on Monday, the 22nd instant. His supposed slayer—Rooney, a wealthy stockman from Alpine, Tex., who is claiming any knowledge of the shooting, although he was seen running from the spot in crowded thoroughfare of San Antonio where the tragedy took place. His attorneys, three in number, already have secured their plan of defense: "Temporary or hereditary insanity." As he is wealthy, he will probably escape punishment, and the workers, who have another object lesson in class justice.

Section San Antonio, S. L. P., at its regular meeting on January 7, adopted the following resolutions:

"WHEREAS, On January 2, 1899, our comrade and co-worker in the noble cause of Socialism—Carl Praeger—was without provocation assassinated in the prime of life on a public thoroughfare of this city, therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That notwithstanding the fact, that this awful deed has cast a deep shadow over our hearts, no feeling of vengeance or hatred against his slayer, knowing that the perpetrator of this crime is but a product of a system in which a small minority of the people can live in idleness and debauchery—offices leading to murder—while the great masses are in abject dependence and poverty, unprotected in life and limb, the prey of the former, further be it

"RESOLVED, That the untimely death of our comrade only strengthens our determination to redouble our efforts for a speedy abolition of such a vicious, crime-breeding system of various labor-slavery, based on a semi-barbaric condition to a higher plane of civilization, where class rule and class justice shall have ceased to exist and crimes like this will be impossible; further be it

"RESOLVED, That we heartily thank all friends for the help and assistance rendered in burying our comrade."

The funeral took place on Wednesday, the 4th. Behind the hearse marched the Lassalle Maennerchor with their beautiful red banner, wrapped with icicles. Behind them followed Section San Antonio also in line of march, the Lassalle Maennerchor, bearing a wreath with a large red bow, and a red background showing the Arm and Hammer, also the initials of our party. The Lassalle Maennerchor, of which deceased was an active member, sang a beautiful dirge.

SECTION SAN ANTONIO, S. L. P.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged	\$789.91
Ernest Lemmon, Harre, Va.	1.52
M. Leitinger, Vandling, Pa.	1.50
Section Philadelphia, Pa. per T. A. Hickey	4.00
Section Scranton, Pa. per Hickey	2.50
Section Durban, Pa. per Hickey	2.00
Section Philadelphia, Pa. per Hickey	2.00
Section Altoona, Pa. per Hickey	4.00
Pennsylvania State Committee, per T. A. Hickey	60.00
Total	\$861.93

Daily PEOPLE Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged	\$2,305.24
M. Scott, New York City	1.00
Total	\$2,306.24

Press Fund for the Workers' Republic, Dublin, Ireland.

Previously acknowledged	\$18.60
M. S. Morris, Chicago, Ill.	2.50
John Connelly, Jersey City, N. J.	1.00
Total	\$22.10

N. B. Steel, of Section Newburgh, would like to hear from Harry Pierce, formerly of said Section, and now supposed to be somewhere in the East.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns some time ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, \$2.50.

M. Steel, of Section Newburgh, would like to hear from Harry Pierce, formerly of said Section, and now supposed to be somewhere in the East.

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THE PEOPLE'S

New-Years Greeting

for

1899.

is out. It is simple in design but very striking and full of effect.

Against a background, dirty from the thick smoke from the many long factory chimneys, rises the muscular figure of a young workman, holding in his left hand a laurel wreath stating the number of votes cast this year for the S. L. P., and in the uplifted right the weapon with which the victory has been wrung—the Socialist Hammer. The expression in the face as well as the whole attitude is bold, full of determination and embodying in a very forcible way the aggressiveness and militant spirit of our movement and of THE PEOPLE. Suitable inscriptions surround the figure and on the sides are calendar tables.

The colors are very well applied and it presents altogether a very impressive ensemble.

PRICE 10 CENTS, sent to any address.

"DAILY PEOPLE" CONFERENCE.

Delegates should not fail to attend the above conference meeting on

Sunday, Jan. 22nd, 1899,

In 98 Ave. C.

Report of Resolution Committee will be up for discussion.

ATTENTION, WEEHAWKEN, N. J.

Saturday, Jan. 21, at 8 p. m., speakers will address a meeting to be held at B. Hall's Hall, 233 Hackensack avenue, bet. 18th and 19th streets. Comrades are requested to make this known in that section.

Object: to organize a Branch.

FRED KRAFFT, Organizer.

ALL SOCIALISTS, ATTENTION!

For the Benefit of the Socialist Party.

Grand Concert and Ball.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Branch West New York (N. J.).

to be held on Sunday evening, 8 p. m., at

Reisenberger's Hall, Hudson County Boulevard and 23rd street, with the kind assistance of various Labor Singing Societies.

Tickets, 10c a person; but check 10c.

Music by People's Orchestra, S. T. & L. A.

All cars from Barclay, Christopher, 14th and 42nd streets, ferries stop at 23rd street

Bergantine avenue, W. N. Y.

—TWELFTH—

Masquerade and Civic Ball

—OF THE—

United Journeymen Pie Bakers

of NEW YORK & VICINITY,

—ON—

Saturday, Jan. 28, '99,

—AT—

TEUTONIA ASSEMBLY ROOMS,

16th street and Third avenue.

(Entrance on 16th street.)

Tickets 50c. for Gent and Ladies.

Commencing at 8 o'clock. Grand March with caucian lights at 11 p. m.

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